178
562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

128
● 105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i. e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

N 177 178 619 621 N 177 62 554 W 177 554 622

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

W 177 178

Summary and Conclusions

N W 105

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 105 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up W [186] over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

N W 105 177 178 W [186] [668] [464]

The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

N 105 177 182

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

W 105 177 182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author W [122] has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

DDD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.